

## Message Text

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65

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6249

INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

AMEMBASSY LA PAZ

AMEMBASSY LIMA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 8549

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, CI

SUBJECT: EX-PRESIDENT FREI'S STATEMENT ON CHILEAN SITUATION

REF: SANTIAGO 8493

1. SUMMARY: EX-PRESIDENT FREI'S STATEMENT (REFTEL) IS SLASHING ATTACK ON PRESENT GOC AND ITS RIGHT WING SUPPORTERS. FORMULA FOR FUTURE IS GENERAL; FREI ENVISAGES "GREAT MAJORITY" OF CHILEANS IN RANGE FROM DEMOCRATIC CONSERVATIVES THROUGH EUROPEAN-STYLE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS SOMEHOW COMING TOGETHER IN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT TO FORM MAJORITY CONSENSUS ON POLICY, WHICH IS THEN PUT INTO EFFECT BY STRONG EXECUTIVE. FREI TOUCHES MANY NERVES, AND COUNTERATTACK WILL BE HARSH IF GOC DECIDES TO REACT PUBLICLY. CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (PDC) ASKED EMBASSY TO EMBARGO EXISTENCE OF STATEMENT UNTIL IT IS MADE PUBLIC. END SUMMARY.

2. IN 67-PAGE STATEMENT GIVEN TO EMBASSY BY PDC BEFORE DISTRIBUTION, FREI CRITICIZES STRONGLY FAR RIGHT POLITICAL-ECONOMIC FORCES WHO HE IMPLIES NOW RUN CHILE. "FASCIST OR INTEGRALIST" GROUPS EXPLOITED CHILEAN  
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CRISIS TO COME TO POWER, HATE DEMOCRATIC FORCES, AND KNOW

THEY MUST DESTROY THOSE FORCES IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN AND CONSOLIDATE POWER. FREI DEFENDS HIS RECORD AND THAT OF PDC AGAINST THEM (AND LEFTIST CRITICS ALSO), AND REJECTS ARGUMENT THAT CHILEAN DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRACY IN GENERAL CANNOT COPE WITH MODERN CONDITIONS.

3. FREI SPEAKS WELL OF ARMED FORCES. HE APOLOGIZES TO THEM FOR WAY THEY WERE TREATED DURING HIS ADMINISTRATION (1964-1970--STILL A SORE POINT AMONG MILITARY). HE SUGGESTS FOR THEM A WIDER ROLE THAN MERE NATIONAL SECURITY IN DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF FUTURE: THEY WILL HAVE USEFUL ROLE IN PLANNING, DEVELOPMENT AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS. ON OTHER HAND, HE SAYS THE MILITARY ARE TOO INTELLIGENT TO BE TAKEN IN BY CALUMNIES OF FAR RIGHT. MOREOVER, SUBJECTING ARMED FORCES TO WEAR AND TEAR OF MANAGING CHILE'S PROFOUND CRISIS, AND LINKING THEM TO SPECIFIC ECONOMIC POLICY AND DAY-TO-DAY POLITICS, "IS FATAL FOR THEIR UNITY AND PRESTIGE, AND DANGEROUS FOR COUNTRY."

4. FREI THUS APPEALS TO MILITARY'S TRADITIONAL SPIRIT, AND ITS AWARENESS OF ULTIMATELY DEBILITATING EFFECT OF EXERCISING POLITICAL POWER. HE APPEARS ALSO TO AIM AT SEPARATING MASS OF ARMED FORCES FROM PRESENT MILITARY LEADERSHIP. IN HIS ATTACKS ON FAR RIGHT AND ON GOC POLICY HE IMPLICITLY AND BITTERLY ATTACKS PRESIDENT PINOCHET AND OTHER JUNTA MEMBERS. HE RIDICULES THE JUNTA'S EVERYDAY RHETORIC AND POLICIES. THUS, SECURITY IS "TOO FRAGILE IF FOUNDED ON A PERMANENT STATE OF EMERGENCY." HE RECOGNIZES HYPOCRISY OF COMMUNISTS IN ATTACKING CHILE ON HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT "THE FAILINGS OF OTHERS CANNOT HIDE OUR OWN." AND PDC FIGHTS AGAINST FASCISM, EVEN IF IT IS HIDDEN UNDER "RESPECTABLE NAME OF NATIONALISM, TO WHICH ARE ADDED ADJECTIVES AUTHORITARIAN, CORPORATIST, OR APOLITICAL."

5. FREI'S IDEAS FOR THE FUTURE ARE GENERAL. CHILE HAS TO RETURN TO ITS DEMOCRATIC TRADITION, ALTHOUGH NOT TO THE OLD STRUCTURES OF PRE-ALLENDE PERIOD. COUNTRY WANTS LIBERTY BUT NOT ANARCHY; PEACE AND NORMALITY, BUT NOT HATE AND REVENGE; AUTHORITY AND NOT DISORDER; THE PROBLEM IS IN CONFIDENTIAL

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RECONCILING AUTHORITY AND LIBERTY.

6. PDC'S BASIC STRATEGY IS NOT DESCRIBED, BUT MOST OF IT IS IMPLICIT: FROM "GREAT MAJORITY" IN FAVOR OF DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION FREI EXCLUDES FAR RIGHT, VIOLENT LEFT (I.E., MIR), AND COMMUNISTS. DESIRED MAJORITY RUNS FROM DEMOCRATIC CONSERVATIVES (NATIONAL PARTY) WHO REJECT FAR RIGHT, THROUGH EUROPEAN-STYLE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS (THE RADICALS AND MODERATE SOCIALISTS),

AND CAN INCLUDE GREAT GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO "WERE BETRAYED"  
-- PRESUMABLY BY WHAT JUNTA HAS DONE SINCE COUP. NO  
ONE PARTY OR GROUP CAN ENCOMPASS THIS MAJORITY. IN  
UNDEFINED FUTURE POLITICAL SYSTEM, MAJORITY CONSENSUS  
WILL EMERGE FROM WIDE DEBATE; EXECUTIVE WILL THEN PUT  
IT INTO PRACTICE "RIGOROUSLY AND EFFECTIVELY," WITHOUT  
HINDRANCE BY VETO POWER OF MINORITY. NEW SYSTEM MUST BE ARRIVED  
AT BY PEOPLE'S WILL.

7. COMMENT: CRITICISMS ARE SPECIFIC, BUT HOW TO GET FROM  
HERE TO THERE IS FUZZY, FREI DOES NOT EVEN HINT AT PDC'S  
EARLIER HOPE THAT DEMOCRATIC CIVILIANS COULD WORK WITH MILITARY  
FOR A TRANSITION PERIOD BEFORE NEW DEMOCRACY IS ESTABLISHED.  
NEVERTHELESS, FREI'S FREEWHEELING STATEMENT IS REFRESHING TO  
READ IN COUNTRY NOW RESTRICTED LARGELY TO EITHER PRO-GOVERNMENT  
LANGUAGE OR MEDIA PAP.

8. GOVERNMENT IN PAST HAS SOMETIMES CHOSEN TO IGNORE PDC  
DOCUMENTS THAT APPEARED IN PUBLIC, AND THUS AVOIDED CONFRONTA-  
TION. THIS MIGHT HAPPEN AGAIN, BUT IS NOT LIKELY  
IF PDC IS ABLE TO GET THE FREI STATEMENT DISTRIBUTED AS WIDELY  
AS IT HOPES. FREI'S PAMPHLET IS AN ANALYTICAL DOCUMENT THAT ATTACKS  
THE VERY BASIS OF THE REGIME AND TOUCHES MANY SENSITIVE NERVES.  
IT VIOLATES RULES OF THE JUNTA'S POLITICAL RECESS AND, IN GOC  
EYES, WILL ASSIST ANTI-PATRIOTS TO DEFAME GOC DOMESTICALLY AND  
ABROAD. STRONG GOC REACTION THEREFORE APPEARS PROBABLE.  
POPPER

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